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SIR JOHN PERROT, HENRY VIII's BASTARD?
THE DESTRUCTION OF A MYTH
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To students of Welsh and Irish history, studies of the sixteenth century would be incomplete without reference to Sir John Perrot. Besides noting his public offices those of privy councillor and lord-deputy of Ireland among them almost without exception they taint him with the stain of illegitimacy, and the oft-quoted myth of his royal origins continues to flourish.¹ The allegations that he was a base son of King Henry VIII engenders far more interest than the fact that he was the heir of a minor marcher family from Pembrokeshire. Yet, students of sixteenth-century English history should take more serious note of this contemporary of Burghley, Leicester, Sidney and Essex for, in a career spanning over forty years, Perrot made as deep and lasting an impression on Elizabethan society as several of his more illustrious colleagues. Portrayed as an arrogant, avaricious, dominating bully almost fated to die as a traitor, the traditional image of the man has been sustained by generations of historians.² Despite the pioneering biographical research undertaken by P.C.C. Evans between 1937 and 1940, the enigma that is Sir John Perrot persists.³ In the year that marks the four-hundredth anniversary of his death, this deserves to be challenged and resolved if we are to succeed in uncovering the man behind the myth. The purpose of this article is to investigate the origin and substance of the Perrot myth and to conclude the debate regarding his supposed bastard origin.

....compare his picture, his qualities, gesture, and voyce, with that of the King's, which memory retains yet amongst us, they will plead strongly, that he was a subrepticious child of the blood Royall.⁴

Such is the strength of the Perrot myth, promoted by Sir Robert Naunton and fostered by subsequent writers, that it has persisted down the centuries and finds expression in historical works of distinction to this day.⁵ The origin of this popular belief in Perrot's royal paternity can be traced back to Naunton, but no further. It was he who first gave currency to a story which some believe may have been rumoured during Perrot's lifetime.⁶ However, there is no evidence from Perrot himself, his contemporaries or familiars to substantiate this belief or Naunton's claim. Significantly, even among his contemporaries in the early seventeenth-century, Naunton is alone in weaving a tale apparently ignored or most likely unknown to other writers also engaged on a life of Perrot. Nevertheless, that the Perrot myth has endured whilst challenge to it remains lukewarm owes much to the regard with which Naunton is still held by many.⁷ The value of his short account of Perrot lies in the fact that it is based on the observations of a contemporary who had married Perrot's grand-daughter Penelope.

Current estimates suggest that the *Fragmenta Regalia*, essentially notes on the Elizabethan court, its Queen and principal characters, was written between 1628 and 1632, but was first published only in 1641, some six years after Naunton's death.⁸ Nevertheless, the work may have been long in composition and existed in draft manuscript for a number of years before these dates. Certainly, a near-contemporary, Thomas Fuller, was of the opinion that it was 'a fruit of his younger years'.⁹ Born in 1563, Naunton was twenty-nine years old when Perrot 'fell sick and dyed' suddenly in the Tower; according to Hatton's biographer, 'he was old enough to move in the great world and had acquired some experience of public affairs'.¹⁰ That he was a contemporary witness who may have known some of those of whom he wrote is undeniable; that he had the opportunity to hear what others said of Perrot is quite possible; but how far Naunton's testimony can be relied upon is debatable. Nevertheless, he cannot, and should not, be entirely dismissed but rather deserves to be re-appraised critically.

If we dismiss Naunton's somewhat dubious comparison of Perrot's 'picturequalities, gesture and voyce' with those of Henry VIII, the substance of his story rests, to use his own words, on 'tradition, and upon old report'.

The most persuasive passage in Naunton's work, and most likely the root from which the myth sprang, concerns the story that on hearing of his condemnation for treason Perrot swore 'in oathes and in fury' to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton, will the Queen suffer her Brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking adversaries?'. Naunton is eager to substantiate the truth of this outburst, though he does not reveal the identity of those that 'deliver with assurance' the news of Perrot's indiscreet remark.

On one matter we may be assured that Naunton's attention to detail is defective, for Perrot could not have vented his anger on Hopton, who had been dismissed from the lieutenancy of the Tower in the summer of 1590, over six months before Perrot was lodged there.¹¹ Therefore, apart from the strong possibility that the account may have reached Naunton in an abridged or garbled fashion, very much third-hand, it may be untrue. Certainly such a statement bears the hallmark of malicious gossip and a means by which Perrot's enemies might have attempted to discredit him further. Even allowing for Perrot's cholerick nature, this would have been an intemperate and unwise expression of his frustration with the Queen, unless a less precise or literate meaning be attached to the 'Brother'. If we accept the account verbatim, as some continue to do without qualification, then this may not have been a claim to be her brother in blood but simply an expression to indicate his close association or friendship with the Queen over some thirty years. Certainly, the Queen's reported refusal to sign his death warrant and the subsequent delay in carrying out his execution need not have been, as Naunton has it, a result of these words being made known to her; her indecision in such matters is well known.¹² In the absence of corroboration there is reason to doubt the validity of Naunton's reported account.

There remains the tradition, which is worth quoting in full, of the favoured status enjoyed by Perrot's parents, Thomas and Mary Berkeley, at the court of King Henry VIII. According to Naunton, Sir Thomas Perrot his Father was a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber to Henry the eight, and in the Court married a Lady of great honour, of the King's familiarity, which are presumptions of some implication.

The vague presumption is that Perrot's father married a woman impregnated by the king, her lover, and the implication is that the heir to the Perrot estates was 'a subrepticious child of the bloud Royall'. Much has been made of this and, rather than challenge an appealing footnote, some writers have even embellished the tale. How much truth can be ascribed to Naunton's 'tradition' is questionable. Certainly, Naunton was wrong to describe Perrot as a knight and he is suspect in failing to name the lady, his bride. Tempting though it may be summarily to dismiss this account, there is at the heart of most persistent legends a grain of truth and this one is no exception. In records possibly consulted by, or related to, Naunton, Thomas Perrot is indeed listed as an esquire of the king's body; while a Lady Berkeley, though Naunton never names her (it may be presumed that he knew Perrot's wife was also a Berkeley), is listed as a royal lady-in-waiting and thus in a position to become overfamiliar with the king.¹³ It can be convincingly demonstrated that from such realities has grown the myth related by Naunton: a classic mixture of distortion, magnification and genuine misunderstanding.

Unless he had access to additional records denied modern researchers, Naunton's interpretation of Perrot's position assumes a far closer relationship between him, the king and the court than may in fact have been the case. While there is no doubt that Perrot can be counted among the privileged elite, his position as an esquire of the body was simply a recognition by the Crown of his local pre-eminence. As a result of such appointments the Crown could extend its authority into the counties while the recipients were assured of continued social and political influence. Thus, when first mentioned in this capacity in 1525, Perrot was but one of over 200 county landowners on whom the Crown relied for support and whom it 'attempted to make its own at minimum cost'.¹⁴ If he were, as Professor Guy puts it, a 'supernumerary' then his companionship with the king, which was once thought so intimate as to qualify him to marry the king's former mistress, was more apparent than real. Without the benefits accruing to a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, such as free room and board, his attendance at court was probably no more than occasional.¹⁵

This is not to deny Perrot a place at court or the possibility that he may have encountered his wife-to-be, Mary Berkeley, there. But the extent to which Naunton believed their relationship to have been fashioned by the court and the monarch should not be exaggerated. Indeed, would 'that Naunton were by to explain his own meaning', for much depends on how his phrase 'of the King's familiarity' is interpreted.¹⁶

If we assume it to refer to those Berkeley females with a proven record at court, then the evidence would seem to point to a later date than that which witnessed the birth of Sir John Perrot (b.c. 1528) and to a very different lady, or even ladies, from the one thought by Naunton to be the expectant wife of one courtier and the discarded mistress of the king. A glance at the Berkeley pedigree (Fig. 1) will immediately cast doubt on the accuracy of Naunton's account and strongly suggests a reason why it may easily have been founded on mistaken identity.

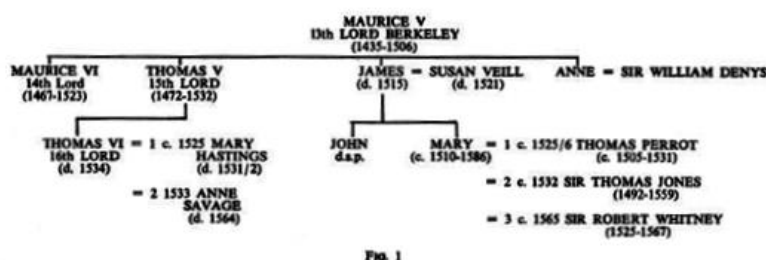


FIG. 1

The wives of Thomas VI, 16th Lord Berkeley, suggest themselves as possible candidates for Naunton's 'Lady'. The fact that two Mary Berkeleys existed contemporaneously increases the possibility of an error of identification. Bearing in mind that over a century had elapsed between the writing of his account and the event it describes, Naunton may be forgiven his error. Of the two, (and it has to be admitted that little is known of Mary nee Hastings), it is Thomas Berkeley's second wife, the Lady Anne Berkeley (nee Savage), who is better suited to Naunton's story. A noted court beauty, she took a prominent part in court life whilst her husband was content to remain on the family's estates in Gloucestershire. Married in January 1533, a young widowed mother by March 1534, she had served the Boleyn family for a number of years prior to her appointment as a lady-in-waiting to the new Queen, Anne Boleyn. As a result, Anne Berkeley's attendance at court was obligatory, thereby increasing the opportunities for a young unattached widow to attract the roving eye of a king losing the pre-nuptial infatuation with his Queen.¹⁷ In contrast, there is little evidence to suggest such close links between members of the royal family and Mary Perrot (nee Berkeley), certainly not before her son's birth and only tentatively some years after it.

With the aid of evidence recently unearthed among the Berkeley manuscripts, the truth of Thomas Perrot's liaison with, and later marriage to, Mary Berkeley can be revealed. Far from being a grateful recipient of a royal mistress, Perrot was in fact a minor 'purchased' from the Crown by Maurice VI, 14th Lord Berkeley, for the daughter and sole heiress of his deceased younger brother, James. The codicil of Lord Berkeley's last will makes it clear that he had acquired the wardship and marriage of the eighteen-year-old Perrot a little before his own death in September 1523.¹⁸

Though not inconsequential, the fortunes of the Berkeleys had suffered something of a decline in the latter half of the fifteenth century, but under Maurice VI's successful stewardship of their estates the family fortunes had seen a notable revival. With no children of his own, he lavished care and cash on his niece Mary from her early age. In his first will of May 1512, the head of the Berkeley household was at pains to provide for the family of his younger brother, James, who received an estate and local office for life, together with an annuity of £ 20 per annum; a hundred marks were set aside for the future marriage of his daughter Mary.¹⁹ In the event, the death of his brother in 1515 and of his sister-in-law in 1521 gave Maurice VI an opportunity to exercise full parental rights over Mary after acquiring her wardship and marriage.²⁰ It may be no coincidence that his search for a suitable match for his

niece led him to the offspring of a neighbouring family, the Poyntz of Iron Acton; Thomas Perrot's recently deceased mother was Katherine, daughter of Sir Robert Poyntz.²¹

The codicil of Maurice Berkeley's last will indicates the nature of the arrangement concluded for the marriage of his wards: they included the costs of the wedding and a sum of 500 marks payable on condition of both parties fulfilling an agreement in which they, as minors, played little part.²² Despite this, and following the death of their guardian, Perrot and his even younger bride, though they may have been temporarily returned to the custody of the Crown between 1523 and 1526, fulfilled their obligation probably in a ceremony held after Perrot had attained his majority in August 1526.²³ According to recent estimates, their alleged bastard son John was born some two years later in November 1528.²⁴ This evidence is crucial, for it suggests the early part of 1528 as the date of his conception, a time when his parents appear to have been settled in Pembrokeshire and far from a king pre-occupied with an assertive mistress and an impending divorce.

Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence regarding court attendance in the 1520s, the assumption that any over familiarity which Henry VIII may have had with a Berkeley female cannot relate to Mary Perrot (nee Berkeley) because the latter did not have a known record at court during those years is, admittedly, conjectural. That she may, following the death of her uncle and guardian Maurice, Lord Berkeley, have attended court as a ward has been conceded. However, it must be remembered that during this brief period before her marriage 1523-26 she was a minor less than sixteen-years of age already betrothed to a fellow ward in whose company she may have spent her time at court. Moreover, in view of Sir John Perrot's date of birth it would suggest a post-marital affair between the king and a young woman with no apparent connection at court other than through wardship.

To assume that the most probable explanation of Naunton's comment is that he intended it to allude to Mary Perrot (nee Berkeley) in the years preceding the birth of Sir John Perrot is rendered implausible by the knowledge that Naunton appears to have been blissfully unaware of the true circumstances surrounding the marriage of his wife's great-grandfather. This is worthy of note on two counts; first, it further erodes confidence in the accuracy of his account, for the fact that Naunton's wife was a Perrot has tended to impress historians such as Eric St. John Brooks: seeing that Naunton was married to his grand- daughter [he] presumably had an intimate knowledge of his [Perrot] history'.²⁵ Unfortunately, Penelope Naunton (nee Perrot) was less than ten years old when her grandfather died in the Tower and little more than eleven when her father passed away less than sixteen months later. Raised by her mother Dorothy (nee Devereux) and step-father Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, Penelope had virtually no contact with the remaining members of the Perrot family, with whom her mother was at odds in a protracted property dispute. As a result, she had little opportunity to acquire details of the family's history and traditions other than those imparted by her embittered mother, a Perrot for rather less than a decade. Penelope was as much a stranger to her Perrot heritage and living relatives as was her husband.

Secondly - and curiously overlooked by Naunton and all subsequent writers on the subject of Perrot's origins - is John Smyth of Nibley's valuable *Lives of the Berkeleys*, largely completed in 1618, with some additions up to 1627, but never published in the author's lifetime.²⁶ A contemporary of Naunton, Smyth refers to the purchase of Thomas Perrot's wardship and his happy marriage but there is no mention, or even hint, of the scandal of his wife's alleged impregnation by the king and her son's supposed illegitimacy. Belief in the truth of Smyth's sober account is enhanced by the knowledge that he was in close contact with Sir John Perrot's illegitimate son and heir, Sir James, from whom he obtained information on the descent and immediate history of the family. It is apparent that Mary Berkeley was fondly remembered and held in high regard by a grandson who said of her that;

all the chief gentlemen of most eminency in the three shires of Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion at this day living are descended of this Mary Berkeley of whose memory in those parts is made most honourable mention to this day.²⁷

There is no corroboration of Naunton's account in either Perrot's correspondence with Smyth or in a manuscript written by Sir James about his father c. 1622 and intended for, but omitted from, his unpublished *Chronicle of Ireland*.²⁸ The latter piece is a most interesting and detailed description of Sir

John Perrot's physique, personality and character by a son who had attained his majority on the eve of his father's death in 1592. Sir James Perrot was in a better position than Naunton to gauge the truth of his father's alleged illegitimacy and resemblance to the late king. That no mention is made of an intimate royal connection by someone, a base son himself, who would presumably have known, is significant.

Apart from Sir James Perrot's collection of unpublished manuscripts, the most authentic account of his father's life remains the biography written anonymously in the first half of the seventeenth century. First published in 1728 by Richard Rawlinson, there is evidence to suggest that Sir James may have had a hand in its commission or production.²⁹ Whoever wrote it was privy to intimate details of the family and emphatic in establishing the legitimacy of its subject's birth and descent: 'by his Father's line from an auntient and well knowen Linage and Name which had continued in Pembrockshire above Four hundred years'.³⁰ Without a hint of scandal, the author describes Perrot's mother as,

.....being the Daughter of Maurice, Lord Barckley his Brother. Her prayse I cannot alltogether over-passe; she being in her Time a Lady of greate virtue, wisdom and good Government.³¹

Admittedly, the evidence thus far presented has tended towards a sympathetic portrait of Perrot composed by interested parties motivated, with the possible exception of Smyth, by a desire to restore the tarnished image of a man wronged by Queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suspect the integrity of the evidence as anything but faithful accounts of their subject. Indeed, in the half-century following Sir John's death in 1592, the theme of his public rehabilitation was pursued and reached its climax in the only published account of Perrot, apart from Naunton's, by a disinterested party. Published anonymously in 1626 (except for the enigmatic signature 'E.C.S'), the Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot pre-dates Naunton's work by some fifteen years but contains nothing to substantiate the latter's assertion.³²

Although not conclusive, the evidence suggests that Naunton's story of Perrot's alleged royal paternity should be rejected. However, the story itself is not so easily disposed of, for there is no satisfactory explanation of its origin and *raison d'être*. A suggestion can be made. It is noteworthy that after five years of marriage and three children, Mary Perrot found herself a young eligible widow after the untimely death of her twenty-six-year-old husband in the autumn of 1531.³³ Within a year she had married a man in such circumstances as to suggest that Naunton's tale may have some substance, for her second husband, Sir Thomas Jones, was all that Perrot was not, but that Naunton thought him to be: a knight, courtier and gentleman usher of the king's chamber.³⁴ The widowhood of Mary Perrot (nee Berkeley) lasted a year, during which she was at the mercy of the king and his master of Wards. She could not marry without licence of the king and when she did so it was to a man closer to the monarch than her previous husband had been, and who now became step-father to John Perrot. After their marriage, the Joneses continued at court until at least the termination of Thomas's office sometime in 1533 and thereafter continued to divide their time between court and country; according to the best estimates, the date of their first son's birth (Perrot's half-brother Henry) is 1532/ 33.³⁵ The circumstances of Mary's widowhood and marriage may suggest how Naunton's story originated.³⁶ In the final analysis, there is no evidence to substantiate a relationship between her and Henry VIII or indeed between the king and any other Berkeley female, but if Naunton is to be given any credence, such a relationship is more likely to have occurred at this later date, when both Anne Berkeley and Mary Jones were at court, than in the period (the late 1520s) when Sir John Perrot was born. After all, the singular object of Henry's desire at this time, in the late 1520s, was Anne Boleyn, not a teenage girl from an impoverished county family.

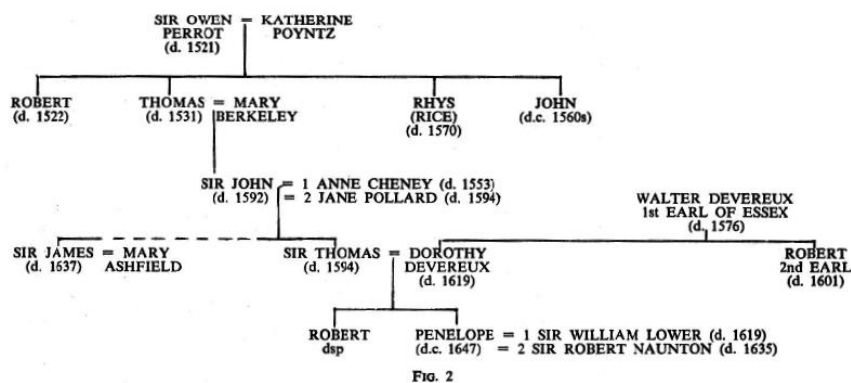
There remains the question of motive for, according to Naunton,

....modesty in me forbids the defacement of men departed, whose posterity yet remaining, enjoyes the merit of their lives, and doe still live in their Honour.

In view of his intention to avoid scandal 'by trampling upon the graves of persons at rest', it is perhaps surprising that he should pursue such an extraordinary and controversial story of the birth of his wife's grandfather. What motivated Naunton to paint such a portrait? Had he derived his information from his

wife or her associates then his motive may simply have been pride in his wife's implied royal descent; however, there is no evidence to support this assertion. He may never, of course, have intended his work to be published. Although illness and death rapidly overtook this frail 72-year-old in the first quarter of 1635, there is little to indicate that his work was intended to be anything other than a private manuscript for the information of family and friends. On the other hand, Christopher Haigh is of the opinion that Naunton 'wrote to influence events', which presumably means that publication was very much in mind before his death.³⁷ His work was eventually published posthumously by those who saw advantage in doing so, but to what extent they remained faithful to Naunton's original text is impossible to say.³⁸

Various described as a 'jaundiced Jacobean' and 'a critical Caroline by the 1630s', historians attach a greater political significance to Naunton's collection of finely crafted biographical sketches.³⁹ His *Fragmenta* is currently considered to have been a veiled attack on the court politics of Elizabeth's Stuart successors, James and Charles. There may be an element of truth in this assertion but how far the biographical sketch of Perrot fits this broader political motive is unclear. Excluding the queen, Perrot was but one of twenty-two principal characters of Elizabeth's reign noted by the author of the *Fragmenta*. If length of notice be taken as an indication of importance, Perrot is certainly among the *Fragmenta*'s biographical elite, commanding as much space as Essex, Burghley, Leicester and Robert Cecil. Naunton's marked antipathy to Leicester contrasts with his obviously sympathetic portrait of Perrot and Essex, in both of whom he had a personal interest through his wife's Perrot father and Devereux mother (Fig. 2).⁴⁰



According to Naunton's biographer, the *Fragmenta* was conceived by an author frustrated at the lack of opportunity for advancement in what he saw as the more restrictive Stuart court.⁴¹ Apart from his brief tenure as a secretary of state between 1617 and 1621, Naunton's public career was generally disappointing and he failed to secure and sustain a position of authority at court or in the government.

Herein may lie part of the motive for Naunton's treatment of Perrot, for the latter's unfortunate end may have struck a chord with one who viewed the decline of his own career with unconcealed bitterness. This sense of failure was exacerbated by the demands and expectations of his ambitious younger wife, whom he married late in life in 1619.⁴²

According to R. Schreiber, their rows were well known to contemporaries and indeed her temperament was typically Perrot, intemperate and choleric, the very antithesis of her husband's older and more placid disposition.⁴³ As unsuited to marriage as they appeared, Naunton's partiality to Perrot is perhaps surprising. The evidence suggests that property lies behind Naunton's motive for marrying the widowed Penelope Lower (nee Perrot) and this may in turn have motivated the writing of Sir John Perrot's character sketch. The extensive Perrot estates in south Wales had been forfeited to the Crown on the attainder of Perrot in 1591 and were only temporarily returned to his son. On the latter's death in February 1594 there followed a decade and more of bitter litigation among related

claimants: Sir James Perrot, his cousin Thomas Perrot of Brook, and Dorothy Devereux on behalf of herself and her daughter. Naunton hoped to claim a substantial part of the Perrot patrimony for himself, but succeeded in obtaining only an insignificant share consisting largely of forest near St. Clear's, Carmarthenshire.⁴⁴ How far Naunton expected to influence events or others by scandalous revelations of Perrot's origin is impossible to say. Unfortunately, his wife's reaction and that of her step-uncle, Sir James Perrot, are not known.

Although Naunton was at odds with his wife and presumably with Sir James over property, there is little to suggest any intention of embarrassing them or maligning their forbear. Indeed, it is presumably with his widow's consent that those who obtained Naunton's manuscript later published it.

Although it is possible merely to speculate on the elusive issue of Sir Robert Naunton's motives and intentions, it can be said with confidence that from the creative imagination of a seventeenth-century chronicler the malicious gossip of an earlier time found expression in a later age as an enduring and intriguing myth.

¹ Armed only with her personal disbelief, E. M. Tenison alone dismisses the myth of Perrot's royal illegitimacy. *Elizabethan England* (14 vols., Leamington, 1933-61), IX, 74.

² More recently by B. E. Howells (ed.), *Early Modern Pembrokeshire 1536-1815* (Haverfordwest, 1987), III, 140.

³ P. C. C. Evans, 'Sir John Perrot' (Unpublished University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1940).

⁴ Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites* (1653 ed.), ed. Edward Arber (London, 1895), 43. Henceforth, unless otherwise stated, all quotations in the text will be cited from Naunton, *Fragmenta*, sub Perrot, 41-44.

⁵ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Re-orientation and Reformation Wales, 1415-1642* (Oxford, 1987), 466; C. Haigh, *Elizabeth I* (London, 1988), 89. Dr. Haigh states that Perrot was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland in 1584 in order 'to prise him away from Elizabeth, whose half-brother he claimed to be'.

⁶ E. L. Barnwell, 'Notes on the Perrot Family', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, XI, Third Series (1865), 117. The earliest known contemporary reference to Perrot regarding his origins and birth is a sixty-three line poem composed by Dafydd Fynglwyd sometime between 1533 and 1545. The poem makes no mention of the alleged royal connection. NLW, Llanstephan MS 30 ff. 447-50. For a transcription of the poem with a brief though inadequate commentary, see E. J. Evans, 'Noddwyr y Beirdd yn Sir Benfro' (Unpublished University of Wales M.A. thesis, 1973), xi-xii, 1-3. 7

⁷ Until a new critical edition of the *Fragmenta* appears, there is no alternative but to rely on piecemeal analysis by such historians as J. Guy who regards Naunton's views on faction in the court of Elizabeth I as 'a travesty of Elizabethan politics', idem, *Tudor England* (London, 1988), 254.

⁸ L. Stephens and S. Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (63 vols., London, 1885-1900), XL, 128.

⁹ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662) ed. J. Nichols (2 vols., London, 1811), II, 336.

¹⁰ J. Stow, *Annals or a Generall Chronicle of England*, ed. Edmund Howes (London, 1614), 764; E. St. John Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton* (London, 1946), 31.

¹¹ P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The House of Commons, 1558-1603* (3 vols., London, 1981), I, 449; II, 337. Hopton was replaced by Michael Blount, who held the lieutenancy until 1595.

¹² W. T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572- 88* (Princeton, 1981), 351-2

¹³ P.R.O. E. 36/130 f. 212; H. W. Chapman, *Anne Boleyn* (London, 1974), 122; E. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986), 211, 219.

¹⁴ J. Guy, *Tudor England*, 167.

¹⁵ According to Dr. David Starkey neither Perrot nor Berkeley figures among those notables closely connected with the king and his privy chamber in the late 1520s. I should like to thank Dr. Starkey for his help on this matter.

¹⁶ Quoted from E. Arber's editorial introduction to Naunton's *Fragmenta*, 4.

¹⁷ "E. S. Lindley, 'Some Early Berkeley Ladies', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, LXXXIV (1965), 38-9; L. Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1973), 244; J. Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, ed. J. Maclean (3 vols., Gloucester, 1883-85), II, 50-52.

¹⁸ Smyth, *Lives*, II, 213-14; Gloucester Record Office (hereafter G.R.O.), Berkeley Mss, Charters, 24.

¹⁹ Smyth, *Lives*, II, 178; G.R.O. Berkeley Mss. Charters, 22.

²⁰ Smyth, *Lives*, II, 201, 203.

²¹ In the first third of the sixteenth century there was a close relationship between the Poyntz and Perrot families. On the other hand, for much of this time, until the death of Sir Robert Poyntz in 1520, relations between the Poyntz and Berkeley families was decidedly hostile.

²² Smyth, *Lives*, II, 201.

²³ P.R.O., Berkeley Mss, Charters, 24. In addition to his niece, Mary, and Thomas Perrot, Maurice Berkeley had also purchased the wardships of his nephew Richard Berkeley of Stoke and Thomas's younger brother, Edward Perrot. P.R.O., E. 150/1215/4; 1216/1, 2; C. McNeill, 'The Perrot Papers', *Analecta Hibernica*, 12 (1943), 58-9. Best estimates suggest 1510/11 as the date of birth of Mary Berkeley; she was certainly still alive in 1586.

²⁴ For a fuller discussion, see R. Turvey, 'A Note on the Date of Birth of Sir John Perrot', *National Library of Wales Journal* (forthcoming).

²⁵ Brooks, *op. cit.*, 31.

²⁶ Smyth, cited.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 178.

²⁸ H. Wood (ed.), *The Chronicle of Ireland, 1584-1608* by Sir James Perrot (Dublin 1933); B.L. Add. Ms, 4819, f. 118b-119.

²⁹ R. Rawlinson (ed.), *The History of that most eminent statesman Sir John Perrot* (London, 1728). I hope to publish a paper on Sir James's 'connection' with the anonymous biography of Sir John Perrot in the near future.

³⁰ *Ibid.*,

³¹ "Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, 13.

³² E.C.S. *The Government of Ireland under the Honest, Just, and Wise Governor Sir John Perrot* (London, 1626).

³³ P.R.O., E. 150/1215/6; 1216/3; C. 142/89/119.

³⁴ Bindoff, *House of Commons*, II, 453-4. Although Thomas Jones did not receive his knighthood until 1542 it is understandable if Naunton, writing with the benefit of hindsight nearly a century later and having already misattributed a knighthood to Thomas Perrot when none, in fact, had been granted, were to refer to him as a knight at the time of his marriage to Mary Perrot some ten years earlier.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 451. In 1536 Thomas Jones esquire is listed as a gentleman usher extraordinary whilst his next known appearance at court was in 1542 when he was knighted.

³⁶ *Ives, op. cit.*, 21.

³⁷ C. Haigh (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth* (London, 1984), 11.

³⁸ The identities of Naunton's publishers are unknown and likely to remain so.

³⁹ Haigh, *op. cit.*, 10.

⁴⁰ Penelope Naunton's father was Sir Thomas Perrot (c. 1553-94), son and heir of Sir John, and her mother was Dorothy Devereux (c. 1565- 1619), daughter of Walter, earl of Essex (d. 1576) and sister of Robert, 2nd earl of Essex (d. 1601).

⁴¹ R. Schreiber, *The Political Career of Sir Robert Naunton, 1589-1635* (London, 1981), 114.

⁴² F. Jones, 'Trefenty', *Carmarthen Historian*, XVI (1979), 52; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 29. At the time of their marriage Naunton was fifty-six and Penelope around thirty-five or six.

⁴³ Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 114.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 130. I should like to thank Professor Emeritus Glanmor Williams and Professor Ralph A. Griffiths of University College, Swansea for reading a draft of this article and for their valuable suggestions for its improvement.